1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my mes-
604 senger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a
562 general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to
[222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as
868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow
857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are
● 411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there
501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

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511 bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

501 [313] CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

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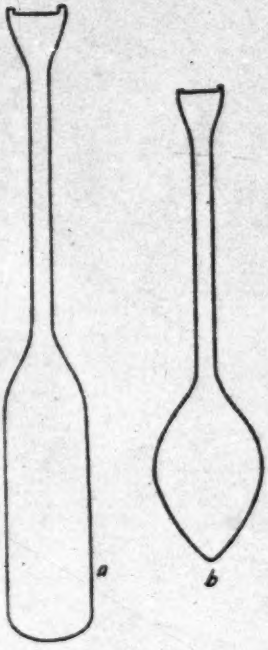

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

411 [313] BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

[284] 411 226 237 ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

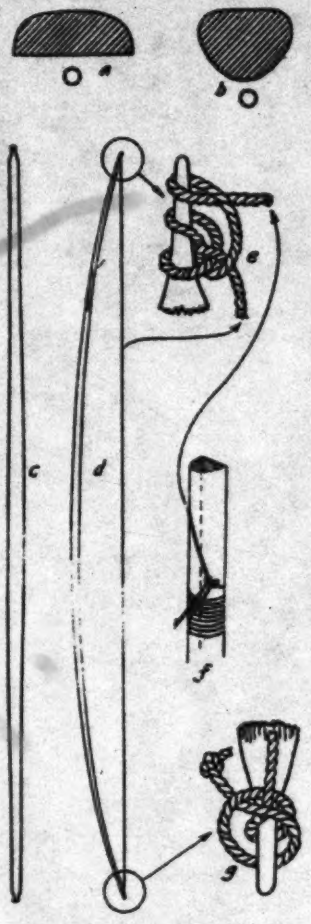

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*. Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain string fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

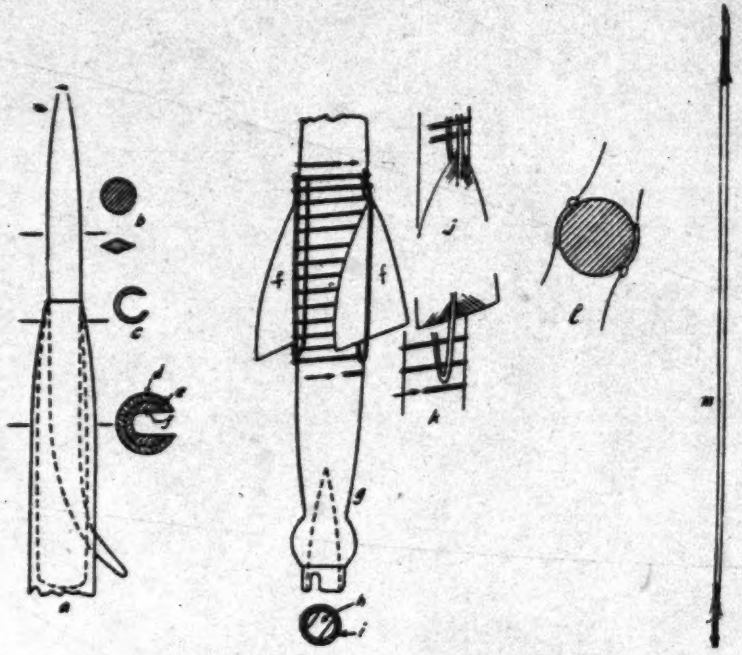

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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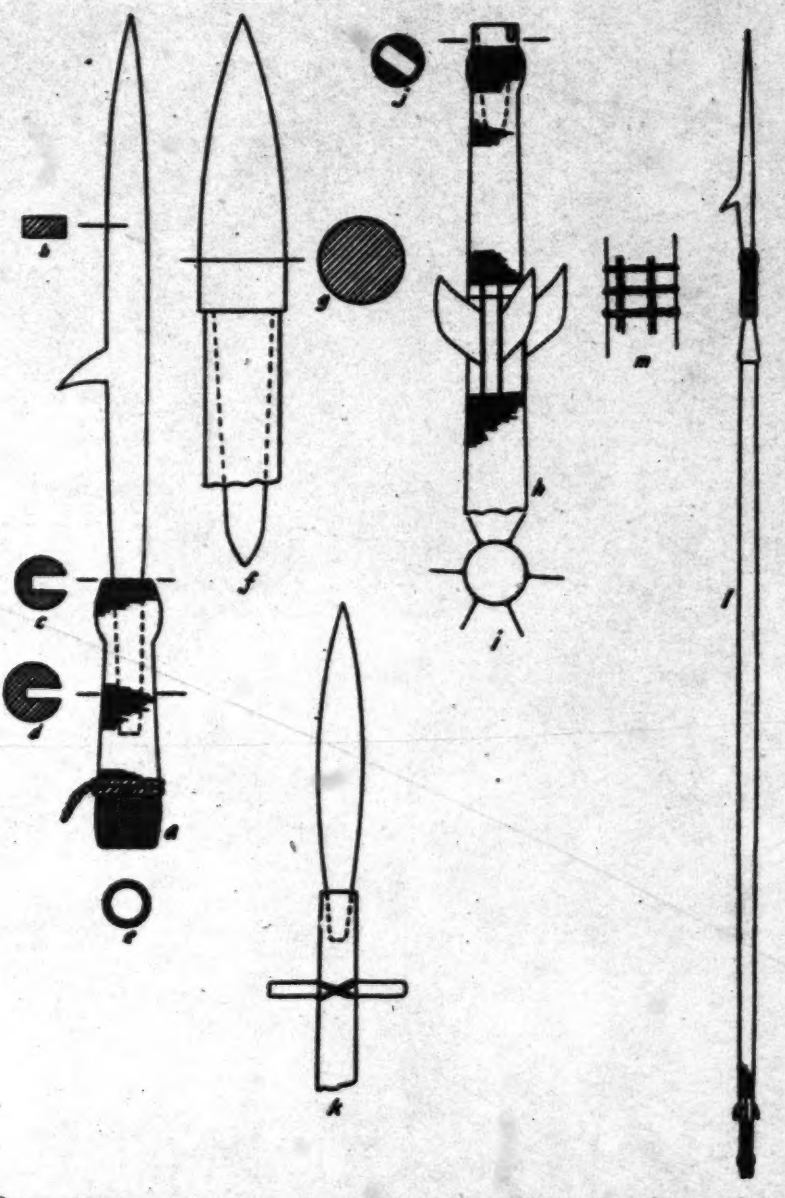

FIGURE 19.—a, Arrow point. b, Cross section of iron point. c, d, e, Cross sections. f, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. g, Cross section. h, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. i, j, m, Details of h. k, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. l, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. *2.* Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. *3.* Yaruros of Laguneta wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloats.

[End Plate 2]

222 the moriche palm (*Maxritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tis, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [224] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees